1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Yerba maté may also be taken by groups of men as a sort of afternoon tea on festive occasions. A host's womenfolk prepare and hand to him a cup nearly filled with dry leaves, and a small tea kettle of boiling water. The host fills the cup with hot water and offers it to a guest who sips the free liquid through a narrow, hollow tube (bombilla), commonly fashioned from brass. Then the cup is refilled with hot water and goes the rounds until everyone has had enough. Because the tea leaves absorb most of the fluid, a man can drink six or eight cups without getting a great deal of liquid.

In the region under discussion fish is unavailable, and meat is seldom eaten, except during fiestas. The roasted flesh of sheep, cows, pigs, chickens, and other poultry is much enjoyed, but the favorite meat is that of a young mare. When meat is included in the daily diet, it is most often made part of the midday meal.

Several traditional beverages continue to be consumed in large amounts. Fruit, cereal, and vegetable extracts, mixed with water and usually fermented, are old-time favorites. Most popular of all are: *chicha*, a cider made from the juice of crushed apples;[a] *mote*, made of deaurinated wheat or corn boiled in water;[b] *muday*, prepared from wheat with the skin on;[c] and *muchu* or *chicha de muda*, a fermented beverage prepared with germinated corn.[d] All of these drinks are commonly allowed to develop an alcoholic content, and early chroniclers are agreed that the Araucanians have long been addicted to inebriants, particularly at fiestas.[e] Some nineteenth-century observers have pointed out that the incidence of drunkenness increased rapidly in the reservation period, for every Chilean town in the

[a] Latcham (1910, p. 342) reported that apple chicha is made by men. Other fruits are sometimes substituted for apples. The presence of pips in a drink used to be considered an omen of fertility.

[b] Skin was removed with a strong solution of ashes. Cf. Joseph, 1910, p. 56.

[c] Good accounts of *muday* manufacture may be found in Moesbach, 1930, pp. 143–46, and in Bleeker, 1930, pp. 170–73.

[d] Augusta, 1934, p. 13. A vivid mention to the germination process occurs in Smith, 1887, pp. 308–9.

[e] Cooper, 1946, p. 741.

4 Latcham F-6 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of them show considerable ingenuity in their fabrication. After the Spanish conquest and the settling of silversmiths among them, the cross, especially the Maltese, became a favourite design in their silverwork. The chiefs used spurs, bits and stirrups of silver, and frequently adorned their saddles, bridles and whip handles with the same metal. 301 [177, 777]

Owing to the Spaniard's greed for gold, and the dangers to which its display exposed them, this metal became less and less used, but their love for silver ornaments continues up to the present day.

The principal adornments of the women consisted of enormous earrings in the form of a half disc, frequently measuring 6 inches in diameter, breastplate, necklets, collars, head bands, waist bands, and long pins with large heads in the form of discs, half moons, or bell-shaped. These were used to fasten their mantles. A favourite ornament is a strip of soft hide covered with rows of small silver beads. This is worn either as a head or waist band, and very frequently as a collar. Rings, usually plain silver bands, are frequently worn. Another favourite ornament of the ch, or chain pendant, worn suspended by a clasp from the breast, and having small trinkets hung at the extremity.

The Araucano soldier dashs his face with paint not more interesting as a means of beautifying his personal appearance, although formerly their war parties painted their faces to strike terror into the hearts of their enemies. The elaborate designs and terms made use by some of the northern races seems to have had no counterpart among them, and they seem to have had no special identification mark to distinguish them if clads in battle, this task falling to the lot of the women who usually followed the war party not far in the rear. 302 [304]

Habitations.—As I have already mentioned, the primitive dwelling of the Araucano was the toldo or skin tent, such as is even now used by the Indian tribes of the Southern Pampas. When they began to lead a more sedentary life, they constructed rude wattle and daub huts, the cross-pieces of which were lashed together with thongs cowpers. These were probably of less circular in form, but finding them too small they afterwards gave them an oval shape, and finally began to build them in their present rectangular design. 342

The work of building these huts is a great event in the life of the Indians. The construction is not all conducted at one operation, but is generally divided into three stages, each of which gives occasion for a great feast, especially the final one. On this occasion, if the owner is a chief, or is well off, the feast lasts for several days. The first stage is the erecting of the posts and framework; the second the filling in of the walls; and lastly the finishing of the roof with long coarse rushes. [521]

The huts vary in size according to the necessities of the family, being from 20 to 60 feet in length and from 15 to 20 in width; the walls are about 6 feet in height. They are occupied by the owner, his wives, unmarried children, and sometimes by other children. The children and unmarried men and girls sleep pell-mell, spreading skins on the beams under four where heavy thatches [513]

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

533 special songs were composed for important occasions. Improvisation of songs was common. The songs, with words, not wordless or predominantly wordless, filled with metaphorical and vivid language, dealt with subjects ranging from sex and war and religion to love of kin and friends, freedom, satire, death and bereavement, various frustrations, drinking, and other events of ordinary life. (For details on songs and singing, cf. Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 119–21; for samples of songs: Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 122–34; 1912, after p. 226, with musical notation; Félix José, 1910, many songs passim.) Besides the orators and song-
538 composers, there were also what may be called the historians, who knew the ancient traditions, genealogies, and martial exploits of the past. The large number of proverbs current (Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 15–95) and the distinctly aboriginal flavor of so many of them suggest native rather than Hispanic origin. The few riddles (Soustelle, 1938, pp. 76–77; cf. Félix José, 1916, 1:93, s. v. koneu) look more European

534 **Music.**—Songs were usually sung in a low voice to the accompaniment of the drum or other instrument. The chief musical instruments were: A kettle drum (kul'true), a wooden plate or a half gourd, with a single head of skin, beaten with a small stick; a flute (pifallka) of wood, and formerly of human longbones; a wind instrument (trutruka), 10 to 13 feet (3 to 4 m.) long of *Chusquea* sp., hollowed out, with a cattle horn at the end; a shell or cattlehorn trumpet (kulkul). The shamans used particularly a hand drum of the type just mentioned and a gourd rattle (wada). Izikowitz (1935, p. 121) figures a basketry rattle. Other less frequently mentioned musical instruments were: A drum of a tree trunk, a flute of *Chusquea* sp., a small sort of panpipe or "mouth organ" (Hounse, 1939, p. 190), and the musical bow (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:281–82; Félix José, 1916, 1:180; Izikowitz, 1935, p. 203)—the last, post-Columbian (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1908). The bull-roarer was absent.

535 **Dances.**—Men and women danced, but rarely together, and to the music of drum and flutes. The older dances were seemingly at a rather slow tempo, the dancers' feet being hardly lifted from the ground. The imitative ostrich, puma, and other dances appear to have been more modern, of introduction from across the Andes. Bascuñan (1863, p. 135) described one dance characterized by rather marked erotic elements, elements common in modern *Mapuche* dances (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:285; 1908, p. 41; 1913, p. 229). In some of the modern *Mapuche* dances and gatherings there is considerable clowning (Félix José, 1910, pp. 45–46), and use of masks (pl. 155, *bottom*) of wood and of canelo leaves (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:285; 1908, p. 128; Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 234–36).

527 796 **Recreation.**—Perhaps the most important single recreational activity of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* was the kawiñ. This consisted primarily

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of a gathering or reunion of a small or large number of people, during which there was singing and dancing, feasting, and heavy drinking. The kawiñ was very apt to end in widespread intoxication among the participants, bloody fights, and sex orgies—in a word, the typical, widely distributed aboriginal South American drinking bout. These eating and drinking feasts were given on many occasions, such as religious rites, victory celebrations, the erection of a hut, sowing and threshing, shearing, the completing of a new receptacle for chicha making, marriages, burials, athletic events, initiation into the shamanship, etc. The war cry previously mentioned, made by striking the palm rhythmically against the mouth, was also a common sign of rejoicing used in such feasts.

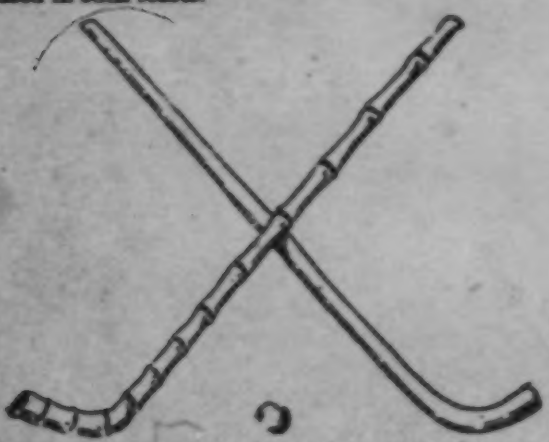

FIGURE 81.—*Mapuche* hockey sticks and ball. (After Manquilef, 1914.)

Men, women, and children were excellent swimmers; they indulged in this exercise partly for cleanliness and Spartan self-training, and partly for recreation. Wrestling (with hairhold) and foot-racing were also common. By far the most important sport, however, was chueca (huñno, uño, palican) or hockey, played by men, women, and children, with a small wooden ball and with sticks of *Chusquea* sp., curved at the end (fig. 81). It was an organized team game played by two sides of 10 to 15 players each, to the music of flutes and drums, before big crowds of spectators, for large wagers put up both by players and by spectators. (Cf. vivid description of modern match by Robles Rodrigues, 1942, pp. 189–208.) Various magico-religious rites were carried out in connection with the game: e. g., the ball was treated by the medicine man, the sticks were fumigated with tobacco smoke and anointed with the blood of an animal killed for the purpose. Sexual intercourse was avoided before an important match game (Guevara Silva, 1913, p. 174). Second in importance as a sport was

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

end of the day several men were rather unstable on their feet, but no 521
one was badly intoxicated. Conversation became very lively.

The face of the Araucanian, generally friendly but serious, lights up in conversation. When not talking about serious matters, conversation is interspersed with delightful and jovial remarks. Not infrequently retorts are whizzed back and forth with consequent laughter by all.

In all probability the fiestas of today, both national and religious, 527
have replaced the kawiñ of former days—eating and drinking feasts, Cooper calls them. According to Cooper's sources, occasions for kawiñ were "religious rites, victory celebrations, erection of a hut, sowing and threshing, shearing, the completing of a new receptacle for chicha making, marriages, burials, athletic events, initiation into the shamanship, etc." (1946, p. 739).

Often the activities of small children are enjoyed by parents and 517
others during hours of visiting or waiting. During an interview with a man, his wife taught their baby, a little older than a year, to blink. Later the woman asked her husband to observe the baby's accomplishment—she and the baby blinked at each other at which the husband laughed heartily. Blinking between the field assistant and baby caused more laughter and much humorous conversation in Araucanian. Later, to the amusement of all, the baby, with the help of the mother, sang repetitions of "ani." Older persons sometimes find enjoyment watching children of early school age tease one another.

Stories both historical and nonhistorical are told at any time; fables, 538
generally only when children are listeners. In many fables the fox plays a role. "Do you want a fox story or the other kind," asked the spokesman of a group of schoolchildren. Two "fox stories" and one of "the other kind" follow.

As told to a schoolboy by his mother who spoke only Araucanian: 539

A fox ascended to heaven. Then he wanted to come down again, but he could not. Then he found a rope made of a vine—probably like any of the vines that climb up trees in the woods around here. He let himself down, but plump—there he was on the earth and dead. They found him dead, and those who found him carried him home. Then they fetched two machi. Those machi sang songs, like only the machi know and sing. And then the fox moved! He took a stick as a support and walked out of the ruka, as best he could, and away he ran without paying the machi. And the two machi stood there in great surprise, mouths wide open and hands outstretched.

As told to a schoolgirl by her mother:

There was once a fox who was acquainted to a skunk. The fox said to the skunk, "We will exchange our ponchos." The skunk answered, "I do not want to exchange my poncho." So the fox took the skunk's poncho by force. The

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The husband has little assistance to lend at this time, and may even be told to leave the house during parturition. If there are children present, they will be chased out of the house. Only if labor is very difficult will the husband be asked to assist, usually by pressing on his wife's abdomen to force the birth. It also happens that an older, more experienced relative might be called upon to do this. In any event, there is a tense atmosphere, especially during a difficult birth. The woman is the focus of attention and the delivery is surrounded by secrecy. The father's interest in both wife and child is heightened. The woman proves herself to the community and both she and her husband exude feelings of warmth, pride, and self-congratulation. To a large extent these are shared by other residents who visit the mother and view the child during the next few weeks. Gifts are invariably brought, and in being reciprocated establish informal bonds of friendship which might not have existed before the birth of the child.

The husband's major participation is in burying the afterbirth, a traditional obligation. He must scrape up all the residue and the blanket or sheepskin used in the scrouchement, disposing of them some distance from the ruka. Methods of disposal vary. Where fear of witchcraft is especially strong, however, disposal is more guarded and elaborately conceived. The husband might take the afterbirth to a deserted and unfrequented spot in the woods, swamp, hilltop, or other out-of-the-way place to bury it along with the bedding and soiled garments. Sometimes the afterbirth is thrown into a stream and the garments washed and reused. Since this duty devolves upon the husband, it is primarily the extent to which he is concerned with witchcraft that seems to determine how the matter is disposed of. In describing their role on these occasions, some men maintain that they have really broken with tradition and no longer fear the machinations of sorcerers, but have to comply with traditional concepts of disposal of the afterbirth so as not to arouse too great anxiety among the more conservative members of their family and kingroup.

Soon after birth the parents name the child without ceremony. Boys ideally receive another name when they are about five years old. This is ceremonially bestowed, in a simple ritual called *lakutun*, since the name is bestowed by the paternal grandfather or someone who stands in his place—that is, another elder of the lineage. The naming ceremony involves a feast and drinking bout to which relatives and friends are invited. The naming day is celebrated annually.

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

836 having a large number of alliances at one time, although adolescent sex relationships are rarely enduring. Prolonged bad weather, which makes outdoor trysting difficult in winter, is often sufficient cause to terminate an affair. Few early romances lead to marriage. When individuals leave school, in late adolescence, their range of contacts diminishes. Sexual activity either becomes concentrated on one lover or drops off sharply. An unmarried man of thirty years has generally not known many women, even though his sexual activity might have been rather intensive during adolescence.

835 836 It is primarily at school that boys make the acquaintance of girls from other reservations to whom they are either unrelated or stand in an affinal relationship in which sexual relations and marriage are not proscribed. Sexual relations between members of the same reservation sometimes take place when no patrilineal ties can be demonstrated. Even so, public sentiment is generally against such affairs, especially if they tend toward marriage. Some adolescent alliances that were brought to my attention were within the proscribed group, but these were in the minority of all cases of premarital liaisons that took place on a sustained basis. The infraction of incest rules by young people is partly a result of their ignorance of the kinship tie and its significance.

835 Within the patrilineage, sexual relations are avoided and marriage is not considered. Older people maintain that children eventually learn the rules and, even when young and impetuous, tend to "respect" their close patrilineal relatives, an attitude inculcated in them since childhood. Elders say that an infraction of the rule of incest becomes important when a young man is "foolish" or "stubborn" and persists in his attentions to a closely related girl, even after they are both old enough to accept the moral responsibility of adulthood. Pregnancy brings such a situation to the attention of everyone, and the matter becomes of considerable gravity to the community. Further reference will be made to this in the following section.

836 After finishing school and remaining home to work, one's sexual outlets are more restricted, more opportunistic, and daily rendezvous seldom possible. Meetings continue to be made at fiestas, ceremonies, and in town. Despite Catholic overtones, fiestas are considered essentially secular affairs by the Mapuche. They range in size from large public gatherings to rather small impromptu ones and always feature dancing and drinking. Since older people are generally present and prominent as quasi-chaperones, there is rarely adequate privacy for

2 Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 564

T 133 clumps of trees; whilst those of the Tehuelches were situated on the northern bank, the river dividing the two villages. Westward from our encampment the barren plain was succeeded by a wide level of grass, reaching to the base of the mountains, some two miles distant; but higher up the course of the river, which trended to the north, the plain appeared to resume its barren and stony aspect, with here and there a dry lagoon, until the slope of the mountains was reached, and detached belts of trees formed the commencement of the forest. On the southern side of the river the pasture was not very abundant; nevertheless there was sufficient for the horses, cattle, and sheep of our allies to graze upon.

A 527 After the usual stable drill most of us bathed in the stream, which, although nowhere of great depth, had pools at intervals suited for bathing; but the water was icy cold. The day following our arrival at this camp, which was named Digtalk, a birthday feast took place in the Araucanian tables, to which most of us were invited, the usual tent being erected and a dance held in the evening, and the feast and dance were kept up for two days and nights, at the end of which a messenger arrived from Foyel to say that Calfiem, the chief of the Indians encamped at the Salinas north of the Rio Negro, near Bahia Blanca, was going to make war on Buenos Ayres, the reason assigned being the murder of one of his relations by the Christians; he therefore desired the Araucanians and Tehuelches to join with him in the inroad. His literal message was as follows: 'My horse is ready, my foot is in the stirrup, my lance is in my hand, and I go to make war against these Christians, who tire me out with their falseness.'

A parlemento was called, and the chiefs deliberated for some time, but in the end determined to have nothing to do with the affair; so a message was sent to the effect that he might do as he pleased, but that they wished to maintain peace.